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death, his brother will step in and claim a portion of the inheritance from the widow, especially when her children are still small.

IN-LAWS

Because of the predominance of patrilocal residence, the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship is the most important of all in-law relations. When the young bride goes to live with her husband's family, she is expected to take the role of a grown daughter, addressing her husband's parents as mother and father and giving them the same respect and obedience she owes her own mother and father. Her work is assigned by the mother-in-law and generally consists of the most burdensome tasks, such as grinding corn, making tortillas, and washing and ironing the clothing of the entire family. In the past, when girls married at twelve or thirteen and were unskilled, it was the duty of the mother-in-law to teach them the work.

It is the obligation of the mother-in-law to chaperone her daughter-in-law and to see that she remains a faithful wife. To this end the daughter-in-law is expected to remain within the house most of the time and not to go out alone. There are many jokes told which depict the mother-in-law as the "policeman." When the daughter-in-law gives birth to a child, the mother-in-law has the major responsibility of caring for both of them; the quality of this care often depends upon whether or not the mother-in-law approves of her daughter-in-law. In cases in which the mother-in-law disapproves of the marriage, because the couple eloped or because the girl was pregnant before the marriage, or because she had a bad reputation, the young wives may be grossly neglected during and after childbirth.

Although many mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law manage to get along fairly well, the relationship is obviously a "charged" one and is generally recognized as such by Tepoztecans. Both women tend to approach their new relationship with apprehension. The young wife fears that she may not be able to please her mother-in-law, that too much work will be demanded of her, that she will feel like an outsider in a strange house. Many girls have grown up with the idea, learned from their mothers and other married women, that the daughter-in-law is merely the "slave" of the mother-in-law and suffers much at her hands. The mother-in-law, on the other hand, fears that her new daughter-in-law will be lazy and just another mouth to feed. If the girl comes from a better-to-do family, she may look down upon the way of life in her husband's home and cause uneasiness. It is for this reason that when marriages are arranged, the boy's parents seek a poor girl who will not be demanding or afraid to work.

In many cases the fears are justified and much quarreling occurs. The mother-in-law expects the younger woman to work as hard, if not harder, than she herself works. In fact, many women shift almost the entire burden of the household upon the daughter-in-law, so that they may take up business activity outside the home. The daughter-in-law, who may be seventeen or eighteen years of age, has been working hard from the age of thirteen in her own home under the instruction of

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578 606 her mother, and may have looked to marriage as an escape from work and supervision. When, after marriage, she finds herself working even harder for the family of her husband under the sharp, critical eye of her mother-in-law, the situation is one of jumping into the frying pan to be saved from the fire. The young wife today is more mature and more skilled than the child-wife of thirty years ago and no longer needs the mother-in-law's teaching and guidance.

Certain differences between the older and younger generation also affect mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relations. The mother-in-law, whose generation suffered the acute privation and misery of the Revolution and learned to live in the utmost economy, expects of her daughter-in-law a self-denial and economy for which the young woman is not always prepared. Often after marriage the young wife finds that she has fewer dresses and shoes, goes out much less to fiestas, to Cuernavaca, or to the movies. Many young women have learned to bathe three or [515] four times a week and to change clothing whenever soiled, much to the annoyance of their mothers-in-law who must provide the soap and clothing.

In one case a mother-in-law scolded her daughter-in-law for this and said, "What difference is it to you if your dress is a little dirty. Is it for a lover that you are keeping yourself so clean?" Many young women have now become accustomed to [302] using face powder, lipstick, cold cream, toothpaste, and fine soap, the use of which is considered distasteful and extravagant by the mother-in-law and discontinued after marriage. Many of the younger married women chafe over the restraints [484] placed upon their personal movements, their friendships, and, of course, their right to go out unaccompanied. The slow but steady increase in the freedom of the younger women, particularly of those who have spent several years in school, makes the role of the daughter-in-law more difficult.

[596] The way out of an unpleasant relationship for both the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law is to separate their households. Usually the young couple move out, but occasionally the old couple or the widowed mother-in-law will move away. If no other dwelling is available, separate households may be established in the same house site, with each family cooking over its own fire and carrying on its economic affairs independently. Sometimes the wife is unable to persuade her husband to move away or to convince him that she is not at fault, and is forced to continue to [596] live with her mother-in-law. Not infrequently, if the situation becomes too intoler- [586] able, the young wife will separate from her husband and return to the home of her parents. It is believed in the village that many marriages have been broken because the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law did not get on well together.

606 Father-in-law and daughter-in-law relations are generally similar to father-[596] daughter relations, only more reserved. When the daughter-in-law lives in the same household, she serves the father-in-law under the direction of the mother-in-law; beyond that, contacts between the two are generally few because the men spend [835] a good deal of time away from home. A few cases of incestuous relations between [578] daughter-in-law and father-in-law have been reported. In each of these cases the father was a widower, and the indiscretion caused deep family rifts.

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Because of patrilocal residence, relations between the wife's parents and their son-in-law depend more upon personal factors than upon formal obligations, except for the usual formal respect-relations which prevail between them. Relations may be amiable and even mutually helpful, but more generally are not close, almost to the point of avoidance. Some Tepoztecans recall that in the past the son-in-law was obliged to work for his father-in-law for two years by providing him with wood and water, as part of the bride price. Work now done by the son-in-law is voluntary and is usually limited to times when the father-in-law is ill or in need. If the mother-in-law is widowed and has property, her son-in-law may give her some aid regularly; if she is left alone with no means of support, the son-in-law may invite her to live in his home.

Tepoztecan men are generally wary of the mother-in-law as a meddlesome, trouble-making figure, and most sons-in-law prefer to keep the relationship a distant one. Despite this stereotype, and the fact that some mothers-in-law have been critical of the way the son-in-law treated her daughter, often to the extent of urging the girl to return home, it is more common to find the mother-in-law who insists that her daughter try to please her husband and bear up under domestic difficulties. Most fathers-in-law take the same attitude, unless their daughter is ill-treated by her husband. In such cases, the father-in-law may feel personally affronted, interpreting the son-in-law's behavior as being disrespectful to him.

Relations between sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law are not formalized and depend largely upon personal factors. Sisters-in-law, whether wives of two brothers, or the husband's wife and sister, may be friendly and mutually helpful or, just as frequently, suspicious and hostile. In some families the wives of brothers compete for the esteem of the mother-in-law and carry to her tales and gossip about each other. When the mother-in-law favors one sister-in-law over another, hostility between the two younger women usually results. Relations between sisters-in-law frequently depend upon how the brothers get along with each other; quarrels over inheritance involve the sisters-in-law as much as the siblings.

Brothers-in-law generally have less contact with each other than do sisters-in-law, since they tend to reside farther apart. Two sisters may live at opposite ends of the village after marriage and, like their husbands, see relatively little of one another. Even when brothers-in-law, particularly the husband and brother of the woman, live nearby or on the same house site, they tend to maintain their distance. Ill feeling between brothers-in-law may arise over inheritance, or because of favoritism on the part of the parents-in-law, or because of a quarrel between the wife and her sibling. In a few cases, brothers-in-law have fairly close relations involving labor exchange, supplying each other with meat when they slaughter a pig, and drinking together.

The parents of the husband and wife are *consuegros* to one another. Theirs is a mutual respect-relation, with each addressing the other in *Vd*. There are no formal obligations between them. It is customarily understood that after a girl's marriage her parents relinquish their rights of control over her in favor of the husband and

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593 606 his parents. Ideally, the wife's parents maintain a certain distance in the affairs of their married daughter. For example, they are not supposed to give her gifts without the knowledge and consent of her husband or parents-in-law. Relations between *consuegros* hinge upon the fulfillment of their respective roles toward the married couple. In some cases parents are "jealous" of their children and interfere a good deal.

GODPARENTS, GODCHILDREN, AND CO-PARENTS

608 571 By the system of *compadrazgo*, two sets of relationships between non-relatives are established: one is that between spiritual godparents (*padrinos*) and their godchildren (*ahijados*), the other is between the parents and the godparents, a relationship known as *compadres*. Both the *padrino-ahijado* and the *compadre* relationship are among the most solid in Tepoztlán. They establish bonds which sometimes are stronger than ties of kinship. The general purpose of the godparents is to provide security for the godchild, by the selection of an additional set of parents who will act as guardians and sponsors of the godchild, care for him in emergencies, and adopt him if he is orphaned. The *compadre* system, in turn, by extending the bonds of kinship in a ceremonial way, enlarges the in-group. This system seems ideally suited for a society like Tepoztlán where the extended family is weak.

Social, economic, and political factors may enter into the operation of the *compadre* system. Poor families will seek better-to-do families as godparents for their children. Similarly, it is thought desirable to have *compadres* from the city, for it is assumed that a city family can be of greater help in time of need. But this also works to some disadvantage. We found a number of cases of godparents from Mexico City who have taken their godchildren as servants and paid them very low salaries, even according to Tepoztecan standards.

The more godchildren a man has, the more *compadres* and the wider the circle of persons who can be counted on for favors. For this reason, anyone who aspires to a position of leadership in the village must have many *compadres*. On the other hand, there is some feeling against the use of the *compadre* system in this fashion. Many families view the *compadre* system as a burden and try to limit their *compadre* relations to a few families, by asking the same set of godparents to serve for all their children.

608 571 795 The three most important types of godparents in Tepoztlán are those of baptism, confirmation, and marriage. In selecting godparents of baptism, individuals are sought who can be relied on to aid the child in times of emergency. Tepoztecans prefer to choose godparents and *compadres* who are neither neighbors nor relatives, so that intimacy and quarrels can be avoided. An analysis of the *compadres* of a few families from the smaller barrios showed that most of the godparents and *compadres* were from other barrios. A brother, sister, cousin, uncle, or aunt may serve as a godparent, but they are rarely called upon.

In the case of the first child of a newly married couple, the godparents of baptism are chosen by the parents of one of the spouses, usually by the husband's mother.

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with warm oil of rosemary and violet are given to "heat" the womb. A woman who wishes to prevent conception takes "cold" medicines. A woman who wishes a child and cannot conceive may visit the Virgins of Chalma or Tlaltenango, who are believed to have special powers to grant the desire for children. There is a belief that if conception occurs during the full moon, the child will be strong, and married couples sometimes plan to have intercourse during this time.

The most common symptom of pregnancy is the cessation of menstruation. This is almost always true of a first pregnancy, but may not hold for subsequent pregnancies. Menstruation often does not occur for as long as one or two years after giving birth to a child. Since many women conceive during this period, they do not know that they are pregnant until they feel movement or other symptoms, such as nausea. Sometimes women do not become aware of pregnancy because they continue to menstruate for two or three months after conception. This condition is attributed to *los aires* or to weakness of the back

When Tepoztecan girls married at a younger age than they do now, they were often ignorant of the signs of pregnancy. They would report the cessation of menstruation to the mother-in-law, who would explain its meaning. The girl's own mother would be advised, but the respect-relations and sense of shame between mother and daughter prevented much direct discussion. The young pregnant wife becomes dependent for advice and care upon her mother-in-law, who may keep the girl's mother informed if she wishes to do so. In later pregnancies, mothers and daughters are generally less inhibited in their behavior toward each other.

Pregnant women make every effort to conceal their condition by carefully covering themselves with their *rebozos*, both at home and in the street. When the pregnancy becomes very obvious, women keep to their homes and the more "careful" mothers remain seated as much as possible, so that their children will not take note of their condition. Women who are careless about concealing their condition are looked down upon. City women who walk in the street without *rebozos* to hide their pregnancy are regarded as particularly shameless. Once a city woman who did not wear a *rebozo* came to live in Tepoztlán during her pregnancy, but left shortly because no one would speak to her. Tepoztecans had ostracized her because she was "opening the eyes of their children." More recently Tepoztecans were aroused by the fact that one of the schoolteachers continued to attend school, although in an advanced stage of pregnancy. The school director was chastized, and the teacher was asked to resign.

When a woman knows she is pregnant she informs her mother-in-law, if residence is patrilocal, or her husband, and arrangements are made to hire a midwife. The cost of the midwife has risen, from about ten pesos in 1943 to about twenty pesos in 1948. Before the Revolution, midwives in Tepoztlán received as little as one and two pesos. The rise in price reflects the increasing urbanization of Tepoztlán, as well as the general rise in cost of living in recent years.[3]

[3] In Mitla, in the 1930's, midwives were paid 75 centavos for delivering a girl and one peso for a boy. See Parsons, *Mitla*, p. 78. In Tzintzuntzan, midwives received from 3 to 7 pesos in

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842 846 prevent the reappearance of menstruation for as long as two years. According to them, the ideal length of time to abstain is one year. Some women boast that they abstain for two years, and grandmothers say that in the old days women were not "molested" by their husbands for as much as three years, and that children were often born four and five years apart.

833 846 Today women complain that their husbands do not wait long enough and force their wives to resume intercourse after six months, some even sooner. Generally it is the husband who is blamed for the early resumption of intercourse, but it is recognized that some women are *calientes* and lack self-control. Such women are [853 627] considered selfish because they are often *añeras*, women who have babies every year, and endanger the life of the child, who must be weaned too soon. *Añeras* are subject to much gossip, but they are relatively rare. Most women are glad to avoid sexual intercourse, which is frequently referred to as *abuso de hombre*, male abuse.

The following expresses the attitudes of many women, "My grandmother told me to guard myself from men for they are the danger. I don't protect myself from work. The thing I am afraid of is the man. My husband respects me and doesn't insist even when he is drunk. That is why I am never pregnant when I am raising little ones." The majority of husbands refuse to abstain as long as the wives wish them to, and many men use the threat of taking a sweetheart to get their wives to comply. The wife who is not jealous is fortunate, because then her husband can leave her alone for a long time. Those wives who are jealous "give in" to their husbands to keep them from going to other women and may resume intercourse in as little as two or three months. It is one of the obligations of the mother-in-law to warn her son not to "molest" his wife and to urge the daughter-in-law not to be jealous. However, it takes money to have a sweetheart or to go to prostitutes. More often the poor couple will resume intercourse sooner than others.

846 [853 357] The extended rest of the new mother also allegedly prevents backaches, illness, and ugly skin discolorations (*paño*) on the mother's face and protects the baby's supply of milk. Thus, the good husband and father owes it to his wife and child not only to abstain from sexual relations, but also to hire a servant for two or three months. Many husbands are unable to do either. If a woman's skin remains clear of *paño* and wrinkles, it is said that "her husband has been good to her" and that "she knew how to take care of herself." When the couple lives with the husband's parents ● [606] it is one of the more important obligations of the husband's mother to see that her daughter-in-law receives the proper postnatal care. Normally, a woman, who is married under both civil and religious law and who has had the blessings of both sets of parents, can expect to receive the required care. Because of the expense in- [735] volved, a poor woman is not always certain of getting the maximum amount of rest and attention, but women of more means are always assured of it. Even among very poor families, if other conditions are favorable, women are well cared for after [848 588] giving birth. This is not true for unmarried mothers, abandoned mothers, poor women without close relatives, women living in free unions or married only under civil law, mothers of very large families, and other special cases.